166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her [224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to [281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda'o: Gawia campsite
3. čedəpwi'ža: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida'pwəš
4. poanai'yu: Gawia campsite
5. hadəta'o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čaše'ža: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau'ču
10. topo'ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa'o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo'kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču'm: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya'gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo'ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi'yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono': a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu'mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño'našu
21. čoiši'šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi'šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa'o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu'nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though [redacted] always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states [834] that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.---It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven
291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi 'koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi''ič (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish in-
286 fluence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki''ič) of thick hide, deer
294 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very hot weather or when making a long journey.
281 Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type
281 of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

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their construction were all unintelligible. M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called woñka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k·t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301/304 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292/281 [202] An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

291/281 [681] Women's dress.---Women also wore a buckskin breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; to´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291/286 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛ·ts ṭo·ˈhɨ·l) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛ·ts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi·ˈtɨ·s), and grey eagle (ṭoh·ˈɨ·l), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[136] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi·ˈta pŏ·ˈdta ma ṭup·ɛ·ˈnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi·ˈp·ɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[28] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned inside out as it was worked off and the antlers 281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied [411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned on two short sticks to assist the four-legged 224 pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming" [276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received some meat in return. S.G. believes that every- [262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

136 J.P. said "there were five animals just [262] like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: šo'koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi'yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi'd:t; duwe's:p, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo'kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.-- Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

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323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[276] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

281 the outer wrapping around a baby while strapped in its cradle. (M.L.)

Much the same process was used for deer-skin, which was dehaired with a strong solution of deer brains. Some men were better tanners than others; while most men got enough deer brains in the course of their hunting to keep themselves supplied, dried brains could be bought from expert hunters who had more than they needed. The brains they mashed into flat cakes which they dried on warm rocks, then stored. J.P. said only deer brains were used: he pronounced cougar and bear brains "dangerous" when asked about them.

Hides were pegged out on sand, fur side down, for about a week. When dry they were folded by being stepped on and put in a store-house, unless they were to be tanned at once, in which case the skin was not folded but was turned over and again pegged out, this time over damp sand or earth. A strong solution of deer brains, which had been soaking overnight, was worked into the fur. This was left for twenty-four to thirty-six hours and, if the brainy ointment had dried out meanwhile, the dry places were remoistened. When the skin was ready, a scraper of deer rib bone was used all over the hide to scrape off the fur; finishing was done by careful plucking with the fingers. On the inner side all adhering tissue was scraped off with a dull obsidian blade. The skin was then rinsed thoroughly in water and wrung out. A man alone would wring it by bunching it lengthwise and looping it around a ramada post or near-by strong sapling and twisting the ends. Two men would wring a hide by having one hold the two ends while the other turned a stick thrust through the loop. After as much water as possible had been pressed out, the skin was pulled out, stretched, and rubbed. At this stage care was taken not to get dirt on the clean damp skin, the work being done on tule mats or grassy ground. When ready for [447] final drying the skin was hung lengthwise over a horizontal pole in the shade (today wire fences serve this purpose). To soften the skin later it was folded twice and pounded lightly with a round hand stone, then pulled and rubbed until soft. (J.P., S.G.)

Rabbitskin Blankets

The skins of rabbits were invariably saved for blankets. Their only other use, according to M.P., was as warm padding to be laid around babies on the cradle board. Such skins were split ventrally, after skinning; they were usually skins already mutilated. The normal method was to cut the skin under the throat and around the head in front of the ears. The four paws were cut off just above the toe joints. Then casing was commenced by pulling on the ears; when the skin was pulled back over the

281 shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

281 286 These strips were tied together into about twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet

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281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

286

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285

The word ṭ·ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su ʷiu ṭ·ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čitᵘk string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

516

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of the smaller round tules (šu´yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[190] A pair of tules was

[190] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.S. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mːs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pːs [262] (lake trout), poi´yom (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hːt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·če´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 412 Women pounded acorns (pai´yːn) at bedrock mortars (tinːl), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nːm (ti´pːn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kːlao, pipe of cane [sikːl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wːš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.---The rabbitskin 281 blanket (xeu´či; cexː´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 501 285 484 Ferrying.---Everyone was a good swimmer, but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin River, which is swift and deep. For this purpose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wːč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

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264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that
512 they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

512 Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were
513 "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
● [281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 189 9] Chuckchansi

283 Cordage and nets.---Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 286 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.---Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

[136]

412 Woman's equipment.---The digging stick (č'opu[i]) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Mukelumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (Ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 226 b] Western Mono NS 25

Cordage and Nets

W Y 281 [237] 283

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wi·šib) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

W Y 283

Milkweed string (wi šib·b wiši·bi; milkweed, wi šib·b, Waksachi; če', Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa·hap (the Yokuts ša') was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

W Y 482

The carrying net (tapi·h*) and tumpline (ta·´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi·´kuoš) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and
237 carried a longer string than other bows of the same length.
The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer
[38] in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue
made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of
mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was
281 sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were
often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their
hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and repointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

"The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we called *yot'-sahs*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deerskin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for